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175 plateau, from 1807,[17] were too demanding of the dues they had
652 paid the East India Company for the privilege of collecting, while
651 in some other years the commune headmen were too slack about the collection. The drought of 1805–1807, the general shortage of coin, the after-effects of Tippu's plundering of Badaga villages, all perhaps contributed to the decline in the payments, if not the fortunes, of the Badagas at this period.

175 Despite the British policy of fixing grain prices they did show
435 fluctuations from year to year. Sarada Raju's excellent study of
458 economic conditions in Madras Presidency during the first half of the nineteenth century clarifies these fluctuations. He does not offer specific data for Coimbatore District (which then included the Nilgiris); nevertheless he is surely justified in his view that on a long-term basis the trend was similar in all districts (Sarada Raju, 1941, 227). As his statistical data for the Presidency adequately confirm (1941, 228–230),

> ... prices were high in the first few years of the nineteenth century. The country had just emerged from a protracted period of war and anarchy during which rival armies and plundering bands had laid whole districts desolate. Cultivators who had fled to the jungles and hills were but gradually returning to their neglected fields.... The period was also marked by a number of scarcities, more or less severe. The very first year, 1799–1800, witnessed a severe dearth and again between 1805 and 1807 occurred another famine, when prices ruled very high. After this prices were persistently low ... from 1807–8 to 1850–51 prices rose above the [economic analyst's] base only on seven occasions; and these were famine years.
>
> When the pendulum swung back, low prices ruled till 1812, when two dry seasons caused a scarcity which lasted till 1813–14. But with the coming of the rains, a lower level was reached and we hear frequent complaints of the "continued low price of grain".... All the Collectors remarked about it, affecting as it did the ryots' [peasants'] ability to pay the revenue (Sarada Raju, 1941, 231–232).[18]

114
• (731) While several seasons of adverse weather mentioned by Sarada Raju did give rise to famine conditions in Coimbatore District, which was one of the driest in the Presidency, it is very unlikely that famine also occurred on the Nilgiri Plateau at those times.

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lxv; De La Tour, 1822, 261; Baber, 1830, 315; Harkness, 1832, 136–137; Birch, 1838, 103; 'Stocqueler,' 1845, 579; Price, 1908, 8; Sarada Raju, 1941, 107–108. On the partition of the district, see Grigg, 1880, 290–291, 303, and Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 117. See also Hockings, 1973.

7. Botanical identifications for the species referred to in this study, here arranged alphabetically, are as follows: almonds *(Terminalia catappa)*, barley *(Hordeum hexastichon)*, betel or areca nut *(Areca catechu)*, black dammer or resin (from *Canarium strictum*), black gram *(Phaseolus mungo)*, chick pea or Bengal gram *(Cicer arietinum)*, coconut *(Cocos nucifera)*, coffee *(Coffea arabica)*, common millet *(Panicum miliaceum)*, coriander *(Coriandrum sativum)*, country bean *(Dolichos lablab)* fenugreek *(Trigonella foenum-graecum)*, field peas *(Pisum arvense)*, finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*, flax *(Linum mysorense)*, garlic *(Allium sativum)*, gentian *(Gentiana pedicellata)*, gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)*, great millet *(Andropogon sorghum)*, Italian millet *(Setaria italica)*, Italian rye *(Lolium italicum)*, lime *(Citrus aurantifolia)*, mustard *(Brassica juncea)*, oats *(Avena sativa)*, onion *(Allium cepa)*, panic-seed *(Setaria pallidifusca)*, pepper *(Piper schmidtii)*, poppy *(Papaver somniferum)*, potato *(Solanum tuberosum)*, prince's feather *(Amarantus paniculatus)*, pumpkin *(Cucurbita pepo)*, rattan cane *(Calamus spp.)*, rose-mallow *(Hibiscus esculentus)*, sandalwood *(Santalum album)*, slender millet *(Panicum miliare)*, tea *(Camellia sinensis)*, tobacco *(Nicotiana tabacum)*, turmeric *(Curcuma longa)*, and wheat *(Triticum dicoccum)*.

8. Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 115. This area is now the playing field between the Lawley Institute and the Botanical Gardens.

9. Baikie, 1857, 25. In the mid-nineteenth century the Sundepatti and Manna:ru Passes provided a safe short-cut for smugglers between Coimbatore and Malabar; Ouchterlony, 1848, 75; Grigg, 1880, 19, 291.

10. Nicholson, 1898, 352. Note that the deity is a Vaishnavite one; its chariot-dragging festival is still held. See above, p. 145.

11. After crossing the Bhavani River in a rattan coracle covered with skins; Mackworth, 1823, 118–119; Grigg, 1880, 295. Once a market was opened in Ootacamund Ka:ramuḍu ceased to have much importance for Badagas; Francis, 1908, 340.

12. *dodda habba;* on the salt ceremony, see Hockings, 1968c, *passim.*

13. This fourteenth-century fortress, now submerged by the Bhavani Dam, controlled the important Gajalaṭṭi Pass which links southern Mysore with the Coimbatore Plain; Nicholson, 1898, 425–427.

14. Ward erroneously calls the sum a dowry.

15. Later in quarter and one rupee denominations.

16. In the amounts of Rs. ¼, ½, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24 and 48; but see below, p. 172.

17. Also the case in some other districts of Madras Presidency; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247; Grigg, 1880, 286, n. 1.

18. The years 1803–1805 were a period of drought in the Nilgiris; Grigg, 1880, 279, n. 2.

19. There were as yet no Moslem traders.

20. Cloth was not among the trade items. The Coonoor Pass was completed in 1833; Grigg, 1880, 17.

21. Shandy means 'market', from the Tamil *cantai.*

22. Foodstuffs were usually traded by volume rather than weight, for scales were never used in or near the Nilgiris.

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many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:ṭe:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Sulligu:ḍu. Some smallpox prevalent.

1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for baptism but died before this could occur. Government prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this year until 1887 government continuously planting further tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kaṉakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

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attendance coinciding with the conversion and the take-over of some government schools by the Basel Mission. Crops partially destroyed through drought; blamed by Badagas on a curse from the Christian preachers, and by the missionaries on Badaga idolatry.

1859 Continuing drought. By now, ten mission schools opened.

1863 Legislation to stop private parties clearing land to farm in reserved forests. Famine and some migration of Badagas away from their native villages; this was blamed on the missionaries, who were preaching that Christ was responsible for all that happens. The continuing conversions usually attributed by Badagas to sorcery; very low school attendance. Further government order prohibiting the annual fire-walking ceremony.

1864 A Badaga 'oracle' when questioned by villagers indicated the 'English god' was dangerous and evil-intentioned. Consecration of protestant chapel at Ne:rikambe.

1864-1884 Land Settlement; registration of all land holdings and the real end to swidden farming.

1865 Some headmen pulled down their temples and built new but bigger ones, for the first time in brick. Famine on the Nilgiris; drought blamed by Badagas on their gods losing power. A promise reportedly made by the god Irabattaraya to come to the plateau to cure the sick and destroy the missionaries; many disappointed that he did not come.

1873 A Badaga near Wellington became a deathbed convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

1875 Massacre of eighteen Kurumbas by Badagas armed with axes; this in retaliation for a fever among the Badagas.

1876 Monsoons failed; cholera epidemic among Badagas.

1877 Smallpox and cholera epidemics and dysentery on the Nilgiris and famine throughout South India; grain prices double the usual; heavy immigration of starving unemployed people from plains near the Nilgiris; among Badagas much loss of faith in the efficacy of Hindu rituals, and some conversions.

1880 By now 183 Badagas converted to Lutheranism since 1858, and the process continuing slowly; ostracism and physical fighting still associated with each conversion.

1882 Madras Forest Act: defined forest boundaries and further restricted the cutting of timber. Family of a Kurumba

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sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.

1884 Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.

1887 Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.

1889 First mission school opened in Kundena:du, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.

1890–1910 'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.

1891 Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1897 Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.

1900 Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1901 Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.

1902–1903 Epidemic of plague among Badagas.

1904 Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.

1904–1905 Plague among Badagas.

1906 Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

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nicknamed 'three-quarters God', lost face through declining an invitation to prove the superiority of his religion by walking across the fire.[4]

As another missionary recalled:

> The proclamation of the Gospel, which was repeated again and again in every village with scarcely any exception, met with an increasing opposition, till at last it became a great trial of faith and patience to go on preaching to the same well known and apparently hopeless generation. From the proverbially timid Badaga we even heard expressions like these:—'You have ruined our country, why do you come to us?—stay at home!' (Mörike, 1858, 96).

Apparently the missionaries capitalized on the misfortunes that struck at the Badaga community: on one occasion of drought (in 1859), the missionaries blamed the disaster on the continuing worship of idols; on another occasion Metz reported:

> The famine may have helped to awaken in many a fear of the wrath of God.... Especially one day, after four Badagas had been burned in one house... people were eager to hear the Word and ask questions about it, so that it was quite refreshing to me (B.E.M.S., 1866, no. 27, 78–79).

In 1855 missionaries prompted the government to issue a ban on Badaga fire-walking. The move back-fired, however, for a village had burnt down at about the same time, and this was considered a manifestation of the Badaga deity's wrath (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39).

The mission schools were another important means of evangelizing. A school had been founded at Ke:ti in 1845, and by 1859 nine others were in operation. At first Badaga parents in the neighbouring villages were given one anna a day (½ cent U.S.) as inducement to send their unconverted children there rather than have them work in the fields. The schools were intended to create a favourable impression among the Hindus, but the missionaries recorded that the frequent changes of schoolmasters, their indifference to teaching, their loose morals and the periodic closure of the schools led to a halting literacy but scarcely any conversions.[5] A permanent

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day-school was established by the mission in 1871, yet the drawbacks remained.[6] No industrial training was given at these institutions. Only in the 1880s did the Badagas begin to appreciate the merit of schooling: the number of schools on the Nilgiri Plateau 'was only 3 in 1879, but 21 in 1889, and 36 in 1889'.[7]

Natural Calamities

A third class of stress-producing factors in the experience of nineteenth-century Badagas was one of natural disasters, sometimes drought, sometimes epidemics, sometimes earthquake, sometimes famine. Badagas were not slow to attribute these calamities to the mission.[8]

Yet on a few occasions the disasters were so intense that they prompted hundreds of people to turn to the German missionaries for sustenance. In 1877 especially the general famine and crop failure led to a steep rise in food prices in the Nilgiris and to a heavy immigration of indigents from the plains. Beggars came to Ke:ti in hundreds, and the missionaries had to restrict their alms-giving to the old and the sick. The mission established some relief-work for Christians and distributed rice to their congregation; and this clearly prompted many, especially the relatives of previous converts and people familiar with the Gospel, to forsake Hinduism. 'Their idols, some said, had been of no use to them in this calamity, they would now follow the God of the Christians.'[9] The missionaries were glad to enlarge their flock, but by the end of the century some of them became more realistic about the motives prompting Badagas to convert. Thus a Badaga pastor, Jacob Kanaka, noticed that 'The larger number of the famine-converts came from the village Tandanadu, the abode of a heart-hardened people and the seat of idol-worship in this district.'[10]

Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that the Badagas came to the mission more often for temporal than for spiritual aid. In the 1870s mission staff felt many were willing to convert, yet seemed 'more concerned about their debts of money than those of sin; they promise to embrace Christianity if their debts will be paid by the Mission' (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1850, no. 10, 23; 1897, no. 58, 53–54). The missionary was commonly sought out in times of sickness when herbal therapy failed. Food was often begged from the mission people too. Thus, for example, a hungry Hindu

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Virtuous People, the village of Edapalli became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Edapalli seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

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reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalied fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1887, 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:du in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

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758 inside the hamlet or not, if calling to a person still
784 in the hamlet must refrain from shouting to him. If it is essential to talk to someone in the hamlet a man turns his head away so that he cannot see that person. The idea underlying these various restrictions (753) seems to be that fragments of diseased skin could blow into the watery crevices or oily surfaces of the healthy body and thereby spread the disease.

757 At first smallpox is treated as a fever (6. 69), but
758 on the third day after it has been recognized as smallpox the person in attendance, under instruction from a therapist, begins the same water-sprinkling treatment described for the treatment of chicken-pox (7. 2). The water, with dead-nettle flowers and Bermuda grass in it, is sprinkled on the patient on the third, fifth, seventh and ninth days after recognition of the disease, and this continues if necessary on odd-numbered days up to the fifteenth —when 15 flowers and 15 pieces of grass are used. It is believed that no one will be afflicted with smallpox beyond the eighteenth day. As with the treatment of chicken-pox too, the patient is bathed on the last day and then made to sit under a thick cloth where he inhales smoke created by burning incense, turmeric, and the outer skins of red onions and garlic (cf. 7.2).

164 Once a case of smallpox has been identified as
731 such, all the inhabitants of that hamlet leave and make homes for themselves in makeshift huts in their fields or perhaps some nearby jungle. But before leaving they quickly fence around their houses and workyards with thorn bushes, as a symbol of their hope that the disease might not follow them. Once in their makeshift homes they receive no visitors from elsewhere and visit no other hamlets, until the disease has disappeared entirely. At that time the hamlet's most influential men get together to decide on a day, called *u:r kuḍua jina*, when everyone will assemble and occupy their hamlet again. A

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day or two before the healthy villagers return home all those who have been suffering from smallpox and have stayed in the hamlet leave it early in the morning, and stay in the jungle for a day or two themselves; nowadays they go to a town instead. By leaving early, nobody else runs the risk of setting eyes on them. They must go beyond the hamlet boundary; the intention of this being that if any smallpox remains with them somebody of a different hamlet may catch it. They return home on the evening after the rest of the inhabitants have returned, so that the latter can find a deserted hamlet at the time of their re-entry.

When this day comes the men and boys gather together their cattle and drive them into the hamlet; the implication being that it is no longer a settlement but a grazing ground. The people follow the cattle, shouting "*hau hau*" ("*Hooray!*" a ceremonial cry of jubilation), then gather up the dry thorn bushes on the work-yards and burn them. Along the front of each Badaga house is a line of flat stones set into the work-yard and projecting about a foot from the house wall. These are called *ucce gare* (lit. "urine slab"), since in the old days people could bathe or urinate on them at night without fully leaving the house and so exposing themselves to the witchcraft of Kurumbas. On returning to the hamlet somebody from each household gets a crowbar, raises one of these slabs out of the ground, and then replaces it. This brief act symbolizes building the house anew.

It is only after 19 days have passed since this ceremonial re-entry that a person from a recently evacuated hamlet can either visit another or receive visitors from one: 19 days, because 18 days is said to be the maximum period between a new moon and a full one, or *vice versa*. Following the eighteenth day after the hamlet re-entry a communal funeral is held for all the people who have died during the smallpox epidemic. This is done with

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one bed, on which there lies a walking-stick for each dead adult, or a smaller stick for a child. In such a funeral the ritual acts and prayers are performed for each male first, and then for each female, in order of generation seniority and not of absolute age at death. If people of different phratries have died in the same hamlet then a separate bed is used for the sticks representing the members of each. Rituals are done for the superior phratry first, unless the dead members of that phratry were visitors from another hamlet. Finally, if some visitors have died there will be two separate beds for the funerals of agnates and affines within the same phratry.

RUBELLA (*kasare*)

7.4. *Kasare*, probably identifiable with measles, kills scarcely one in a hundred of those who do not follow the restrictions, whereas smallpox kills one in two of those who ignore the treatment procedure. Nonetheless measles should not be taken lightly: as one ironic proverb puts the matter, "Measles does not harm one; the eye is ungrateful [for what it sees]." All the rules for treating smallpox should be followed, except that an infected hamlet is not deserted. The water-sprinkling treatment, begun on the third day after the disease has been recognized by its widely scattered spots, has usually cured it by the seventh day. This is followed by the customary hot bath and inhalation of smoke (7. 2).

PLAGUE (*ili sattara*)

7.5. Plague was not uncommon early in this century, and was known to be brought by rats (*Rattus rattus*). It is not much of a problem now however, as a medical missionary has observed:

> [Ketti] village has been harbouring the infection of plague for the last 18 months. But although there were as many as 138 rat falls reported in one week, we only know of four humans attacked. This clearly demonstrates the value of prompt preventative measures [by Government health authorities]. Owing to this incidence of plague fewer people have been coming into Ketti from

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164 **CHOLERA** (*ba:ndi be:di*)

7.6. Cholera is primarily an epidemic of the low country and is reportedly introduced to the Nilgiri Hills by inhabitants who visit the plains (Orton 1831: 406; Madras 1928: 63; Ketti Medical Mission 1943: 5). It is said to be caused by an evil god or goddess, and is one of the epidemics loosely labelled *na:du no:* ("countrywide illness").

Within two hours of a person's being attacked by cholera he will begin constant vomiting and diarrhoea. There is no accompanying fever; and it is by these two indications that the case is recognized as cholera. The body is now below its normal temperature and so must be given "heating" foods, generally arrack (2.6) and perhaps brandy; the patient is wrapped warmly and heated however possible. Others in the hamlet feel they have no chance to placate the deity who has brought cholera, or to stop her from coming. As soon as it is known that cholera has come everybody leaves the hamlet except for the one or two relatives who tend the patient. These people clean up after him, and are careful to keep their bodies heated along with his. Although people occasionally survive cholera, they most usually die in under two days. As soon as a person dies he is taken from the house and buried, whether it be day or night. No funeral takes place at this time, and no cremation is attempted.

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(731)
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When the villagers know there is no longer any case of cholera in the hamlet they stay away from it for at least a further fifteen days, since they must allow the passage of the full period of fourteen days that separates the new moon from the full, or *vice versa*. Once back home, and unlike their return following a smallpox epidemic, they can immediately receive visitors from elsewhere or go anywhere themselves.

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(574)

164 **MALARIA** (*adurejara*)

7.7 Malaria is considered a kind of fever, and is believed to be caught by drinking the water at places on the lower Nilgiri slopes, below the usual levels of Badaga settlement (Hockings 1974 : 210).

753